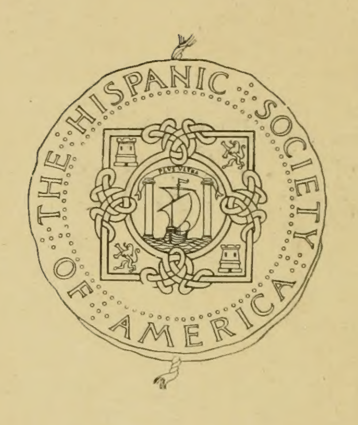
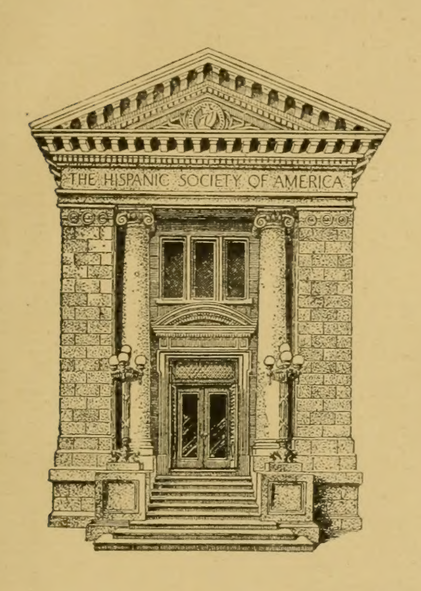
# Hispanic Notes & Monographs




THE HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA
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# HISPANIC
## NOTES & MONOGRAPHS

ESSAYS, STUDIES, AND BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES ISSUED BY THE HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

II

# EL INCA

## GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA

BY

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OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
HUMPHREY MILFORD
1921



PRINTED IN ENGLAND
AT THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
BY FREDERICK HALL

# PREFACE

For reference throughout this monograph, the first editions of Garcilasso's works have been consulted: the *Primera Parte de los Commentarios Reales* in the copy used by Bernardo Aldrete, canon of Cordova and author of *Varias antigvedades de España, Africa y otras provincias* (1614), who has with his own hand marked passages and corrected obvious misprints. My copy of *La Florida del Ynca* belonged to Guevara Vasconzelos. The materials for the life of the Inca have been gathered mainly from his own recital; where other authorities have been quoted, their names will be found in the notes.

Both in the text and in the notes, the older spelling *Commentarios* has been used except in referring to the *Segunda*

*Parte*, of which the first edition gives *Comentarios*.

Should any apology be needed for a work on an author relatively so unimportant as the Inca for the main development of Spanish literature, it will be found in the naïve charm of Garcilasso's manner and in the rich imaginative detail with which his books are informed.

J. F.-K.

*November*, 1920.

# I

*El Inca* Garcilasso de la Vega is the first South American who has won for himself a permanent place in the history of Spanish Literature. The story of his early years spent amongst the Incas and the *Conquistadores*, forms a background to which his memory must have gratefully turned, when, as an old man in comfortless lodgings in or near Cordova, Garcilasso de la Vega strove to finish his histories of Peru. His past was rich in glamour. On his mother's side he could claim royal descent, for the princess Chimpa Ocllo [baptized Isabel] was the granddaughter of Tupac Inca Yupanqui (1), one of the great Incas, that race of kings whose paternal care for its people and advanced civilization are no less remarkable than the fact of its almost total extinction after a reign which had lasted over several centuries. When the traitor Inca,

King Atahualpa, half-brother of Huascar Inca, sought to exterminate the whole royal race that he might reign undisputed over all (instead of over half) the land which his father, Huayna Capac, had left him, he is reported to have driven all the women and children on to a big plain to the north of Cuzco, where they were closely guarded by sentinels and gradually and unmercifully slain. Garcilasso's mother and her brother, Francisco Huallpa Tupac Inca Yupanqui, who were then little children, succeeded with others in escaping through the lines (2). Later the young Indian girl was beloved by Garcilasso de la Vega, a descendant of Garci Perez de Vargas and Pedro Suarez de Figueroa (3), who was the grandfather of Garcilasso de la Vega, the celebrated poet. Hence the little *mestizo* (4) boy, born of this union, was akin to his great Spanish namesake.

Garcilasso de la Vega, the *Conquistador*, came out to Peru in 1531 as one of Pedro de Alvarado's captains (5), and was a

member of that little band who, after great physical trials, took service later under Francisco Pizarro. As one of the *segundos conquistadores* (6) he was given several *repartimientos* (7) and a house in Cuzco, the imperial city of the Incas. Situated on a high table-land watered by four small rivers, Cuzco had been chosen by the Inca kings for their residence on account of the extreme fertility of its soil and its pleasant, equable climate. Some of its great buildings were extant when the small Garcilasso played in its streets; and in the huge squares, Huacay Pata and Cusi Pata, bullfights, jousts, and tournaments were held on festival days. From north to south a small river flowed through the squares, dividing them; in the Incas' time it was planked over, but the Spaniards uncovered it, leaving four wooden bridges to connect the squares. On the west of the river, in Cusi Pata, with a view over the distant snow-covered peaks, and facing east, was the *Conquistador* Garcilasso de la Vega's

house. This consisted of a block of buildings belonging originally to Francisco de Oñate (8), one of the *primeros conquistadores* (6); it had a narrow corridor running lengthways and commanding the whole square. On feast-days and similar occasions, this corridor or balcony was a splendid vantage point, and the Vegas had the honour of entertaining on it such guests as Pedro de la Gasca (9) and Francisco de Mendoza (10).

It was in this house, its tribe of Indian retainers forming almost a royal court for the little son of their Inca princess, that *el Inca* Garcilasso de la Vega was born, as it appears, on April 12, 1539 (11). He was brought up by his young mother like an Indian baby; she bathed him every day in cold water, fed him at regular intervals, and when he cried, rocked him in his cradle, but never dandled him. In his early childhood, his father, owing to the constant disturbances in Peru, was rarely in Cuzco, and fearing perhaps lest the little Garcilasso should be brought up

entirely as an Indian, he asked Juan de Alcobaza, who since 1538 or thereabouts had formed one of his household, to be the boy's guardian (12). Juan de Alcobaza was a man of a very different stamp from the typical *Conquistadores* ; a student, with high spiritual ideals which his son Diego was later to inherit, he probably acted as the deterrent necessary to children in those wild circumstances. The two little boys, born in the same house, shared every game and pleasure ; they trudged to school together, played on the hills about the city, and in the evenings listened to the Incas' tales of past days. The bond formed in childhood seems to have survived distance and time, for some sixty years later the two still corresponded (13), and it was to Diego's trouble and care in collecting materials that Garcilasso owed much of his information about the Incas. As a small boy, Garcilasso was not likely to trouble as to whether the teaching he received was good ; he probably considered school a necessary evil and a source of

extra canings, as on the inauspicious occasion when he stole a holiday and spent a long day in the valley on the west of the city, watching with thrilled excitement the novel sight of bullocks ploughing amidst the shouts and wonder of the Indians, a whole army of whom, so he tells us, had come to fetch him. When the truant came home, full of what he had seen, and having discovered—as a child would—that the oxen were named *Chaparro*, *Naranjo*, and *Castillo*, he received twelve stripes from his father and another twelve next day from the schoolmaster (14). Later, however, as the desire for learning awoke, Garcilasso must have become conscious of the impossibility of doing good work under a continual succession of indifferent masters, for he pays warm recognition to the merits of the one man who really cared for teaching. This was the priest Juan de Cuéllar. Unaffected by the greedy craving for riches and power which possessed every Spaniard, and inspired seemingly by a genuine wish to help the

young students, Cuéllar gave up to them what time he could spare from the fulfilment of his duties as Canon of the cathedral of Cuzco. Under his two years' rule, the school must have attained a considerable degree of excellence, even if, as the Inca records, the good priest did not perfect his scholars in Latin (15). Garcilasso had no other schooling, yet his translations of Abrabanel's work and of Blas Valera's manuscript show that he had a mastery of other tongues than Spanish and a good working knowledge of Latin. This is no small tribute to his early teaching, when we consider the difficulties under which it was given.

Although Garcilasso had a sister (16), he never mentions her in connexion with his amusements. These he shared with his schoolfellows, such as Diego de Alcobaza, the sons of Pedro del Barco (17), Pedro and Francisco Altamirano, the two promising *mestizo* sons of Pedro Altamirano, who lived in the palace of Huayna Capac with its great outer wall rudely

carved with serpents, Juan de Cellorico, and Carlos, the son of Paullu Inca, his uncle. His relationship with the Incas procured him many experiences, which, as a Spaniard, he might otherwise have lost, and in his boyhood he frequently witnessed their curious rites without understanding their meaning, as when, for instance, in a courtyard, he watched a lamb being sacrificed in order to help in reading the omens (18). On another occasion he saw floating down the stream, which flowed through the square near Juan de Cellorico's house, one of the lighted torches which play so prominent a part in the ceremony for exorcizing the evil spirits of night. To rid their houses of these spirits, the Indians made round torches of straw called *pancuncus*, which were slow in burning; these they fastened with string, and using them in the manner of brooms, swept the streets with them. The evil thing was caught in the smouldering balls of straw, which they then threw into the rivers that the current might carry out of Cuzco all maleficent

influences. The little Indian boys ran away from the torch as from some baleful thing, and had Garcilasso known its import, he would have done likewise, he guilelessly adds, for he was but a child at the time (19). Something too of Indian lore he learnt, the simple herbal remedies and the complicated system of recording events by the *quipus* (20) or tallies. These were knotted threads of the same or of different colours, strung on to a thicker cord in the manner of a fringe; each knot on a thread represented a number, and the coloured threads signified things of the same colour, for instance, a yellow thread might mean gold, a white one silver. To keep an account of their arms, laws, population, and so forth, which could not be symbolized by colours, the Incas arranged the knots in descending order of merit, and appointed special *quipu* readers to make and decipher these tallies. In this way they preserved records of all concrete things, for they would appear to have had no knowledge of a written language. Garcilasso

frequently crossed the deep torrents in the Indian *balsas*, rafts made of bamboo poles lashed together, the longest pole being placed in the centre and those on each side diminishing in size so that the water might more easily be cut through; and once he remembers having traversed a river in a basket of rushes drawn by a thick cable, the current being too rapid for the *balsas* or the rushboats which the Indians also used (21). He could distinguish, like a little Indian child, edible berries from poisonous berries and knew that certain beans of many colours were only fit to be played with (22). Garcilasso took part in other sports, more European perhaps, such as hawking with the small falcons bred by the Indians (23), and riding. He had an innate love of horses, which was possibly increased by the great value the Spaniards naturally set on their horses in Peru, where many of the *Conquistadores* preferred to be wounded themselves rather than that their horses should be injured. It is singular that he

remembers after so many years the name of the horse belonging to Pedro Hernández (*el Leal*). This horse was called *Pajarillo* on account of its speed (24). Garcilasso likewise remembered, not unnaturally, the name of his father's horse, the famous *Salinillas* (25), which was alleged to have been incidentally instrumental in involving the Vega family in disgrace (26). Besides his school-learning and his amusements, Garcilasso gleaned a variety of other accomplishments from the practical life of the Spaniards and Indians. Thus he could shoe and bleed horses as well as any farrier (27), could cure the inflamed eyes of people, and even knew how to renew their gums by a process which seems to have been excruciatingly painful (28).

In 1544, Garcilasso's father, who until then had been faithful to the Pizarros, alarmed at the proportions which Gonzalo Pizarro's military preparations now assumed (29), and realizing the nature of the enterprise on which his chief had embarked, decided with other Spanish cavaliers to

desert the rebel troops and make for the coast. The plan was to seize two ships of Pizarro's, which were lying outside Arequipa, and to win favour with the stern Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela by bringing with them so valuable an addition to his forces. On arriving at the coast, they found that others had been before them and the ships were gone. Foiled in this ignoble scheme, the conspirators were compelled to march wearily to Lima, where they heard that the viceroy had been taken prisoner, and that Gonzalo Pizarro's army was daily receiving new adherents (30). Hurriedly disbanding, they scattered and hid where they could, Garcilasso de la Vega taking shelter in the monastery of Saint Dominic, where he lay concealed four months (31). Meanwhile his family suffered through his defection. Not only did they lose their Indians who were given to Pedro de Puelles (32), but their very house was threatened with destruction. Already one of Pizarro's soldiers held a lighted torch with which

he would have set the building ablaze, had not a comrade's practical words restrained him. But there was nothing to prevent wholesale looting, and the house was stripped of every valuable thing in it, whilst the lives of its inhabitants were only saved by followers of Pizarro who had been on friendly terms with Garcilasso de la Vega the *Conquistador* before his treachery. For eight months the miserable little household consisting of eight persons—Garcilasso, his mother and his sister, Juan de Alcobaza, Alcobaza's son and brother, and two devoted servants who refused to leave—underwent all the terrors of a siege, and would literally have starved but for the generous help of an Indian chief, who at dead of night, and at the risk of his life, brought them an abundant supply of maize. A Spanish friend, Juan de Escobar, took pity on the hungry little Garcilasso and invited him to dinner and supper every day, but owing to the risk of opening house-doors at night, the child was only allowed to creep out when

it was light: even so, he fared better than the rest of his family, for he was sure of at least one good meal a day. At any moment the members of the household were liable to have their throats cut; angry threats and insults were hurled at them, and they had to endure a ceaseless shelling from the artillery captain, Hernando Bachicao, who would doubtless have ended by demolishing the house had he not been prevailed upon to desist by those who had already shown their kindness in other ways (33). Finally, with some nine Spaniards, amongst whom were Garcilasso's uncle, Juan de Vargas, the Vegas escaped to a *repartimiento* about thirty leagues distant from Cuzco (34). During three years, however, they continued in great poverty, for although Gonzalo Pizarro had, on the representation of friends, relented sufficiently to allow Garcilasso's father to form part of his train, he could not forget the man's disloyalty nor reward him for services he had not rendered by restoring to him his Indians (35).

When Diego de Centeno fell upon Cuzco at night and reconquered it for the Crown, the fugitive Spaniards hastened to offer him their allegiance, and Garcilasso, who was then a child of eight years old, was sent by his mother to greet the successful soldier (36). Shortly afterwards, in that same year 1547, occurred the incident to which Garcilasso attributes the disfavour into which his father's name fell later. When Gonzalo Pizarro was hard beset in the battle of Huarina, and his horse wounded in the mellay, he is said to have been saved by the timely aid of Garcilasso de la Vega the *Conquistador*, who dismounted and gave him his own horse, *Salinillas*. So far, this story sounds like an anticipation of the popular legend concerning Juan I embodied in the *romance* beginning *Si el caballo vos han muerto*, which is generally ascribed to Alonso Hurtado de Velarde, who is alleged to have died in 1638. A *comedia* which bears as a title the first line of the *romance* is attributed to Luis Velez de

Guevara, who appears to have died in 1645. The Peruvian rebellion is stated to have been prolonged for about another six months until the battle of Sacsahuana, which ended in the irremediable defeat of Pizarro and his followers. Garcilasso contradicts this current version, maintaining that the battle of Huarina was well over when Gonzalo Pizarro borrowed the horse *Salinillas*, but his word would seem to have had little weight beside the written assertions of Zárate and Gómara (37). However this may be, Gonzalo Pizarro won the battle, and at his triumphal entry into Cuzco, floral arches were raised in the streets and the Cathedral bells pealed as the victors marched through the town. Garcilasso, who had gone to meet his father at Quespicancha the day before, was taken by him in the procession and noted with childish curiosity every detail of the day, even to the different houses at which the captains alighted (38). He was evidently impressed by the personality of Francisco de Carbajal, the veteran warrior whose

tactics had won the day at Huarina, and by his untiring efforts to re-equip the nucleus of the rebel army. For Carbajal knew that Pizarro's soldiers were not all loyal. A sound judge of men, he divided the wavering Spaniards into two classes, (i) those whom he aptly termed *tejedores*, the men who, whenever the wind of fortune veered, shifted from side to side as the weavers move the shuttle in and out of the web, and (ii) the neutrals, *los de la mira*, who took no active share with either party but bided their time (39). Events justified him. Even before the battle of Sacsahuana, Pizarro's followers, in twos and threes, deserted to Pedro de la Gasca, the President. It was then that Garcilasso's father, having carefully laid his plans some three days before, threw in his lot once more with the royal forces And in the final contest, as the grim old Carbajal, hurt in his loyalty by Pizarro's unfounded and growing distrust of him, watched squadron after squadron going over to the enemy, he sang out lustily

'Estos mis cabellicos, madre, dos a dos me los lleva el aire' (40).

Of the summary punishment inflicted on the rebels and the floggings of the less responsible culprits, Garcilasso was a witness, as with his schoolfellows he ran about the town. His finer feelings of emotion were conceivably blunted by the rough and almost savage ways of the men amongst whom he had lived. Before the quartered remains of Carbajal, a man whom he had seen daily riding through the streets on his sorrel mule, he appears to have felt no repulsion or horror (41). Even accepting the theory that children are cruel, nevertheless his behaviour on this and other occasions would not seem to argue any special sensitiveness of mind.

A few years after these events, fresh dissatisfaction awoke amongst the Spaniards, and the malcontents under Francisco Hernández Girón rose on November 13, 1553. The chief inhabitants of Cuzco, including the *Corregidor* or Governor, were

gathered in the house of Antonio de Loaysa to celebrate a wedding. It had been arranged that Garcilasso, now a youth of fourteen, should be allowed to join his father and stepmother (42) there towards the end of the banquet. The *Corregidor*, on seeing the boy enter shyly, called him to his side, bade him lean against his chair, for every seat was taken, and in a fatherly way picked out the fruit most pleasing to the lad's tastes. Suddenly the hall was in an uproar; the great doors were battered down and Girón and his armed men were in the midst of the revellers. Garcilasso followed his father and friends, as the group escaped by means of a ladder on to the roofs of the adjoining houses and let themselves out by Juan de Figueroa's door; he scouted the streets to see if the way were clear and ran home to fetch and saddle a horse for his father. Having seen the party safely off on its way to Lima, Garcilasso returned to spend a night of anxiety wondering what might be the fate of his

kinsmen (43). The days that followed were agitated and disturbed, the boy roved about the streets and spent anxious moments listening to Girón's conversation with his stepmother. So eager was the rebel chief to enlist the services of Garcilasso de la Vega the *Conquistador* that his wife had to repeat four times the statement that her husband had not been near the house since the night of the wedding feast, before she could convince Girón that the man he wanted was not hidden there (44).

After the quelling of Girón's rising, Fortune's finger sounded other stops. Garcilasso's father was appointed *Corregidor* of Cuzco (45), a post which he retained until 1557, and in which he would seem to have governed wisely and mildly. These years were probably amongst the happiest of Garcilasso's life. He acted as his father's secretary (46), evidently fulfilling with gusto the social obligations inherent to the post. It was a harsh blow for the family when, on the

arrival in Peru of the Viceroy Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, Garcilasso de la Vega the *Conquistador* was compelled to resign his governorship of the city (47): all the harsher perhaps, since, according to a widely spread rumour, he was to be appointed one of the four members of a Privy Council (48).

During the course of 1559, Garcilasso lost both his parents, his father dying after an illness from which he had suffered at intervals for two and a half years (49). Garcilasso had now no tie to attach him to Peru, and accordingly, in January, 1560, he left the country for Spain (50). His journey was not altogether uneventful; the ship on which he sailed being driven against the island of Gorgona and all but wrecked (51). He had adopted the precaution taken by all Spaniards, when leaving Peru, of marking his bars of silver and gold with his initials, that he might recognize them if the boat ran aground. Garcilasso punctiliously specifies that he had very few such bars (52),

but values are obviously only relative. It was apparently at Seville (53), after a pleasant sojourn in both the Azores and Lisbon (54), that Garcilasso gained his first impressions of his father's country. These impressions could hardly fail to be favourable, for Seville, owing to her monopoly of trade with America, occupied in the sixteenth century much the same position as Venice in the Middle Ages. Her markets, stocked with costly fabrics, pearls, and precious stones, were crowded with buyers from all quarters, and presented a dazzling array of opulence and colour. Garcilasso's position as he landed in Seville in the year 1560 was not as lonely as it would seem. He had in Spain influential friends and relations on his father's side: through two of these, Alonso Fernández de Córdoba y Figueroa, marquis of Priego, and Francisco de Córdoba, son of the Count of Alcaudete and Captain-General of Orán, he obtained later a commission as captain under Philip II (55). In 1561, after, as we may

conjecture, a short stay in Seville, Garcilasso went to Madrid (56), presumably in the hope of obtaining some substantial recognition of his father's services. He seems to have presented himself at Court, where he fell in with Hernando Pizarro (57), and again with Bartolomé de las Casas. We catch an unintentional gleam of humour in his account of his meeting with the latter. Las Casas, under the impression that the young man hailed from Mexico, greeted him with warm effusion, which cooled down at once when he heard that Garcilasso came from Peru, and the interview which began so promisingly appears to have ended somewhat abruptly (58). Shortly after his arrival in Madrid, Garcilasso was granted an interview before the Council of the Indies, and his expectations seemed about to be fulfilled when a certain member, Lope García de Castro, pertinently reminded the other Councillors that Garcilasso's father had saved the life of Gonzalo Pizarro. Garcilasso's protests were overruled by the crushing force of

written asseveration (59). His sense of complete failure and the impression which the strong disapproval of the Council made upon him may be gauged by the fact that he did not apply again, although pressed by his friends to do so later when García de Castro returned from Peru in 1569 or thereabouts, after the term of his viceroyalty in that country was over. 'For now,' they urged, 'Castro will have learnt the value of your father's services and what he did for Peru.' But Garcilasso perhaps knew better (60).

The Vegas had always been a fighting family, and Garcilasso, their half-Indian representative, proved no exception to the rule. He took part in the Alpujarras' campaign, and his prospects, under John of Austria, seem to have brightened a little (61). It may have been after the Moorish uprising that he met the friend of whom he speaks so warmly in *La Florida del Ynca*. This friend, whose name Garcilasso studiously refrains from giving, had served under Hernando de Soto, and his

graphic account of the latter's expedition stirred in Garcilasso the regret that such daring exploits should be left unrecorded. Reminiscences of his childhood's days, when he listened spellbound in his father's house, as the *Conquistadores* told of their battles and adventures, must have occurred to his mind and awakened in it the vaguely-formed idea of proclaiming to the world the deeds of his father and the glories of his mother's race. He suggested a literary partnership to his friend, urging repeatedly that he would write the relation of Hernando de Soto's discoveries in Florida, if his partner would inform him of the details. His anonymous friend appears to have fallen in with the suggestion, though perhaps he did not esteem this plan as highly as its originator. But Garcilasso had not yet reached the age when a man may retire to a backwater of life, and it was not until some twenty years had passed that the plan was carried into effect. Time and wars, he tells us, interfered with this cherished scheme,

until he almost feared that death might step in and stop it effectually (62). However, in or near 1578, after the death of John of Austria, he probably retired from the army, and, finding it impossible to live at Madrid, owing to the impoverished state of his finances and his now friendless condition (63), he decided, after a preliminary visit to Seville in 1579 (64), to settle in or near Cordova, and write. The idea of following a literary career, adumbrated during his conversations with his friend, had gradually taken more definite shape in his mind, and with the intention possibly of adding to his small income, he now embarked on his new adventure by beginning a translation of Abrabanel's *Dialoghi di Amore*. This attempt, which was finished in 1585 or 1586 (65), and appeared in print in 1590, does not seem to have met with any great measure of success. Previous to its publication, Garcilasso had left his lodgings near Cordova and moved to Las Posadas in order to be near his friend and to begin his account of Florida

(66). In the following year, the long-planned design became a reality, although the work was not actually published until 1605. We gather that Garcilasso had not an absolutely free hand in its compilation; he speaks of tyranny in connexion with it (67), and says somewhat bitterly that he was compelled to include in this work certain passages on the resurrection of the soul which he had intended to reserve for his discussion on the religion of the Incas. The nervous apprehension of disfavour, so frequently apparent in the *Commentarios Reales* (68), may have been induced by his experiences at this time, for, from what he tells us on another occasion, there were probably other difficulties connected with *La Florida del Ynca*, arising from pressure of occupations on his part (69). The completion of this task was doubtless a source of no small relief to Garcilasso, for he could now return to his former quarters and devote all his time to the history of Peru, which he had already begun. It had entailed a sacrifice to

move, for his health had lately begun to trouble him, and familiar surroundings meant much to him. Not that Garcilasso was at all a grumbler; in his incidental references to himself he makes little complaint, his chief apprehension, visible in many passages of his histories (70), is lest death should interrupt his labours. It is in this latter period of his life, after his retirement from the army, that the Inca shows an almost pathetic interest in everything Peruvian. This interest was not solely due to the fact that he was collecting materials for his history. Garcilasso had always smarted under the rebuff given to him in the Council of the Indies, and the sensation of living under a cloud seems to have accentuated his consciousness of the alien blood in his veins; he continually gives the impression of feeling a stranger in a strange land. In this isolation of spirit, Garcilasso sought comfort by dwelling on the marvels of his mother's country. He took exceptional delight in displaying the paltry possessions

that he had brought with him—the tiny exquisitely wrought beads of gold, the bit of yellow emerald given to him as a boy before it had ripened to green—and in listening to the admiring comments they evoked (71). He was inclined to be shy in talking of these wonders, lest he should be accused of exaggeration or worse, and his satisfaction was great when he found a listener such as Martín de Contreras, who had been to Peru with García de Mendoza, the Viceroy's son. This gentleman capped Garcilasso's accounts of the luxuriant growth in Peru by a description of the giant radish under whose shadow he had himself seen four horses tethered, and of the lettuce which he had eaten and which weighed seven and a half pounds (72). Garcilasso was no less pleased when he could give proof of a *mestizo*'s or of an Inca's intelligence, and the gifts which he received, of a sundial and a moondial, made and designed by a *mestizo* living in Salamanca, overwhelmed him with pride (73). He had witnessed the

introduction into Peru of a great many European animals, and it entertained him to hear such details as that the hens, which were not laying at all when he left in 1560, had later hatched chickens in great numbers. He likewise tried experiments with the *quinua* seed, which his old schoolfellows had sent him, but these were not successful, as the seed would not germinate (74). Meanwhile, he continued working steadily, adding day by day to his book which he probably finished some time in 1613. The last years of his life were peaceful and quiet. If he felt a yearning for the glories of Court, he does not express it. He seems much more to think with the poet

¡ qué descansada vida
la del que huye el mundanal ruido . . .

Thus, freed from the haunting fear of being unable to finish his work, and with the double satisfaction that it had gained the approval of the Council of the Indies (75), Garcilasso died in 1616, showing,

perhaps, at his last moments, the stoical, uncomplaining spirit of his Inca ancestors. His death was not premature; he had succeeded in accomplishing the task which he had set himself. Henceforward the case for the Incas was present to the minds of all Spaniards, not merely in the exaggerated polemical phrases of Las Casas, but as it appeared to the imaginations of the Indians themselves. Thus Garcilasso the Inca pleaded his countrymen's cause, winning thereby for himself the post of forerunner to the great South-American branch of literature, made famous by such names as Rubén Darío and José Asunción Silva, and now he sleeps, so it is said, in one of the chapels of the cathedral of Cordova.

## II

Garcilasso's comparative poverty may not have been without compensations. Unhampered by the cares of a great estate, he could, on his retirement from the army, devote his leisure to what pursuits he chose. He chose literature, and, because its mystic philosophy and subtle language appealed to him, he began to translate the *Dialoghi di Amore* of León Hebreo. León Hebreo was the name assumed by the Jew, Judas Abrabanel, who, expelled with his compatriots in 1492 from Spain, sought refuge in Italy, and there wrote, probably in Italian, his dialogues. These dialogues had already twice been translated into Spanish; once by Afia in 1568, and again in 1582, by Micer Carlos Montesa. Garcilasso's was therefore their third translation. The Inca naturally spoke of his work to his friends, some of whom, notably the Padre Agustín de Herrera, Padre Gerónimo de Prado, the Licenciado Pedro Sánchez de Herrera and Padre Fray Fer-

nando de Zárate, astonished at Garcilasso's skill in translating from Italian into Castilian, a language not entirely his own, urged him to publish it. They did more. One Juan de Herrera spoke to Maximilian of Austria on the subject, and enlisted his interest and sympathies. Maximilian manifested the desire to see Garcilasso's translation, and the manuscript of it was sent to him in March 1587, and was duly acknowledged by a friendly note, dated June of the same year (76). In this note Maximilian says that he will keep the manuscript until September in order that he may have time to go over it in detail. Emboldened no doubt by this unexpected favour shown him at the hands of a member of the King's Royal Council, Garcilasso resolved to dedicate the translation to the King himself. This he did in two dedications, one dated from Montilla in 1586, and the other from Las Posadas in 1589. The object of this second *dedicatoria* was doubtless to prepare the way for *La Florida del Ynca*, since in it Garcilasso

tells the King that he is engaged on a history of Florida, and has already partially finished it. In 1590 he finally published his translation at Madrid under the title: *La Traduzion del Indio de los tres Dialogos de Amor de Leon Hebreo, hecha de Italiano en Español por Garcilasso Inga de la Vega, natural de la gran Ciudad del Cuzco, cabeça de los Reynos y Prouincias del Piru. Dirigidos a la Sacra Catolica Real Magestad del Rey don Felipe nuestro señor.* The preliminary notices consist of the *Tassa*, dated Madrid, December 22, 1589; an *aprobación* by Fray Fernando Xuarez, where Garcilasso's translation is praised as being 'buena, fiel y verdadera'; the King's licence (September 7, 1588); Garcilasso's first letter to Maximilian of Austria, in which he apologizes for sending only the First Dialogue and promises the others in due time. He explains that, owing to a scribe's inefficiency, he has had to rewrite even this first dialogue over again, and must now needs rely on his own pen to copy out clearly the remaining

dialogues. Then follow the kindly letter of thanks from Maximilian of Austria, dated June 19, 1587; a dedication to the King written from Montilla, January 19, 1586; and finally a second dedication or letter to Don Maximilian from Montilla, September 18, 1587; and a second dedication to the King from Las Posadas, November 7, 1589. The two dedications to the King are reprinted in the *Comentarios Reales; Segunda Parte*, and it is likewise in the introductory matter of that book that Garcilasso tells us of the ban put on his translation by the Holy Office. The *aprobación* most plainly says that the dialogues contain 'muchas cosas . . . no sospechosas contra la Fe'; in spite of this exculpatory clause the Inca's translation seems to have been put on all the Indices (77). Consequently Garcilasso's first attempt may be said never to have had a fair chance, and little is known of its merits beyond the fact that the schoolmaster of Priego, as well as Maximilian, thought highly of it (78).

III

Garcilasso tells us that on his journey to Spain he halted at Lisbon, and there met with such kindness from the inhabitants that he cast about to make what return he could, for, he adds, 'one of the favours they did me was to save my life' (79). He had been inclined in his boyhood to admire the Portuguese by his father's tales of their conquering prowess, and later from the books which he had read (80). Consequently it was with a duplicate bias that he resolved to dedicate to the Duke of Braganza his forthcoming History of Florida which appeared in 1605 under the following title: *La Florida del Ynca—Historia del Adelantado Hernando de Soto, Gouernador y capitan general del Reyno de la Florida, y de otros heroicos caualleros Españoles é Indios; escrita por el Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega, capitan de su Magestad, natural de la gran ciudad del Cozco,*

*cabeça de los Reynos y prouincias del Peru.* In the dedication Garcilasso, with his usual modesty (or shall we say mock modesty?) excuses his daring in offering, as an Indian, his work to the Prince, and begs that he may be considered a Portuguese subject, since to claim that nationality would show his sense of gratitude to the dwellers in Lisbon and the Azores. The subsequent preface to the reader contains an account of Garcilasso's sources and of his reasons for writing *La Florida del Ynca.* These reasons are stated more fully in the course of the history (81) and in the dedication of his rendering of the *Dialoghi di Amore.* Garcilasso pleads warmly the urgency for colonizing Florida, neglected by all the goldseekers and adventurers who flocked to Peru and Mexico. He was either wise beyond his time or had inherited his Indian ancestors' indifference to gold, for after dwelling on Florida's fertile soil, her abundant and luxuriant vegetation, the number and size of the pearls to be found in her funereal temples and on her coasts,

and suggesting that gold may very well exist in spite of Soto's fruitless efforts to discover it, he adds quaintly that gold is not to be found everywhere, and yet everywhere human beings settle (82). He lays great stress on the disillusions which met the remnants of Soto's band when, on landing in Mexico after their return from Florida, they compared the country and its apparently happy colonists with the rich land which in their folly they had been so anxious to abandon (83). He strongly urges, moreover, the duties of the Church towards the ignorant Indians and the need for teaching them the Catholic religion (84). Garcilasso was evidently disturbed in mind by the fact that in Florida, unlike Peru, not only were no attempts made at proselytizing, but opportunities to make converts were deliberately cast away. Out of regard to his friend probably, Garcilasso explains regretfully that the Spaniards' plan was to discover Florida first and then to colonize it and teach the natives the faith (85).

In a passage which presses on the Spanish King the desirability of sending out an expedition, undeterred by the hapless issue of Soto's foray, Garcilasso hints that he would gladly have gone to Florida, had not Fate willed otherwise (86).

The sources of *La Florida del Ynca*, besides information gathered here and there from former veterans, are three in number. They are, firstly, the papers of Alonso de Carmona, a native of Priego who took part in the expedition to Florida, and was likewise a soldier in Peru, and had delighted in noting his experiences down, calling them simply *Peregrinaciones*. These 'Journeyings' gave a short and confused account of the Florida Expedition, but the main facts served for comparison with Garcilasso's other authorities. Secondly, Garcilasso uses the manuscript of the soldier Juan Coles, native of Zafra, written at the request of the Provincial Pedro Aguado of Santa Fe, who after collecting material for a book, was unable to proceed with his work and left it in the printer's

office. Here, amongst others all partly destroyed by mice and moth, Garcilasso seems to have found the manuscript. Both Alonso de Carmona and Juan Coles, so Garcilasso says, confuse dates and the order of facts (87). Garcilasso's own references, by the way, are not always minutely given, but his scrupulous care to be exact in geographical descriptions has proved him right where scientific explorers of a much later date have sometimes been led into error (88). The third authority, on whose word the whole narrative is based, is Garcilasso's unknown friend. This friend, according to Garcilasso, was a Spanish gentleman of noble birth, who had served under Hernando de Soto during the whole expedition, and, although not one of his regular captains, had on many occasions been sent to head exploring or attacking parties (89). Now amongst the young Spaniards, who so eagerly set forth in 1538 with Hernando de Soto to seek their fortunes, was one Gonzalo Sylvestre, a native of Herrera de

Alcantara in Extremadura. This youth of scarce twenty years of age showed extraordinary resource and daring; the Governor at the outset chose him for his page (90), and later entrusted to him a particularly perilous mission which was successfully carried out (91). On several occasions, moreover, he was given a small command of men (92). As far as these facts tally with Garcilasso's description, Gonzalo Sylvestre might conceivably be the friend of whom he speaks, but these circumstances in themselves are inconclusive. Stronger evidence is disclosed in the text of the book itself. After Hernando de Soto, the hero is always Gonzalo Sylvestre; about him we are told little anecdotes with minute details which only the actor or a most intimate friend and eye-witness could know, and the praise bestowed upon him is comparatively restrained. It must be remembered that every chapter Garcilasso wrote was sent to his friend to correct (93). It would be in keeping with the blunt character of a

*Conquistador* to strike out any exaggerated expression of praise about his own doings. Hardy, reckless, and cruel, the *Conquistadores* were rarely boastful; they had lived through too much to fail in arriving at a just valuation of facts. The probabilities may be illustrated by examples. After having with much difficulty found a passage across the great morass, Hernando de Soto sent Gonzalo Sylvestre back to his main army to procure help and food. He bade him choose a companion and return with all speed. At sunset, then, Gonzalo set out with Juan Lopez Cacho, each astride his horse, Gonzalo's being minutely described. After twenty-four hours' mental and physical strain following upon three days of practical starvation, nature asserted itself in Juan Lopez by an overpowering desire to sleep. An interval of fifty years must have passed since the incident, and Gonzalo's reply, with its concentrated rage of helplessness, could have been given only by the man who had been in peril of his life through Juan

Lopez's drowsiness, and remembered too well his feelings: 'Get down and sleep your fill then, since you prefer to let the Indians kill us rather than put off your sleep for an hour' (94).

On a later occasion the Spanish army with their Indian allies went astray on a great waste, and, having only taken six days' provisions, they suffered terribly from hunger. Sylvestre and three friends discovered that between them they had a handful of maize. They cooked it first to swell the grain and then scrupulously divided it. Eighteen grains fell to the share of each. Three of the four companions fell upon their share and devoured it at once, the fourth, Gonzalo Sylvestre, put his share into his handkerchief and stowed it safely in his breast. Asked by a soldier if he carried anything eatable, Gonzalo cheerily replied: 'Some most excellent marchpane fresh from Seville' and evoked a hearty roar of laughter from his questioner. Up came another soldier with the same famished

inquiry—in those days of hunger it was the common greeting. Again Gonzalo made answer: 'I have some rusks from Utrera, all hot from the oven; if you wish, I will share them with you!' (95) It is hardly likely that any but the author of so small a joke, delighted at the success it had won, would remember it long years afterwards. Not even the questioners, however witty the answers may have seemed to them at the time, would have treasured them for half a century. These two instances will serve perhaps to suggest that Gonzalo Sylvestre may well have been Garcilasso's unnamed informant.

Garcilasso does ample justice to the story of the heroic little band's march through country, here deserted and arid, there infested by treacherous and fierce Indians, and of their Governor's dauntless courage and spirited leadership. The tale has all the elements of a romantic fiction. These elements, owing to its very subject-matter, are lacking in the *Commentarios Reales*, where in the *Primera Parte* the

Inca Kings are lost in remote antiquity, and in the *Segunda Parte* the quarrels amongst the various factions and the necessity of remembering dates in order to understand even approximately the sequence of events, savour rather of history than of romance. In *La Florida del Ynca* Garcilasso's digressions give the main narrative an exotic touch of what the French Romantiques called 'local colour', he reveals to us the beautiful spreading mulberry-trees with all their potentialities in the way of silk, the great oaks and the ground beneath them carpeted with acorns which had fallen two or three years previously, the luxuriant wild vines and the rich temples raised to the dead Indian chiefs, glistening in the sun with their mother-of-pearl roofs. Now and then Garcilasso's reflections lend a quaint and primitive distinction to his manner. For instance, when the flagship struck a rock at Santiago de Cuba and the Spaniards feared that she was sinking, some young soldiers, as yet undisciplined, rushed into the lowered boats, pushing aside the women,

for, so Garcilasso tells us, it seemed to them no time for the interchange of courtesies (96). On another occasion he quotes the missioners' report on their attempts to convert the Indians of Florida and the failure of those attempts, for so savage and cruel a race was not apt to listen to sermons (97).

No records of the expedition were apparently kept by Hernando de Soto or by his captains, and besides *La Florida del Ynca* there are only three known accounts, one presented by Luis Hernández de Biedma to Charles V at the Council of the Indies in 1544 (98), the other written by a Portuguese gentleman of Elvas and published at Evora in 1557 (99), and a manuscript fragment by the soldier Rodrigo Ranjel (100). These three writers took part in the expedition, they have therefore, over Garcilasso de la Vega, the double advantage of being eye-witnesses of the events which they record, and of writing within a much shorter interval after the occurrence of those events. In

the main points, the four narratives agree, although dates, numerals, and names of places show divergencies, Garcilasso's numbers especially marking a tendency to exaggeration. But even though contemporaries may have regarded *La Florida del Ynca* as a valuable addition to historical research (101), it will seem to modern readers a thrilling romance rather than the scientific document which we expect history to be.

IV

In compiling *La Florida del Ynca*, Garcilasso was not confronted with such an array of documents as he afterwards had to deal with when he began to write his history of Peru. This work, as we have noted, came out in two parts. The *Primera Parte*, dedicated to Catharine of Portugal, Duchess of Braganza, was begun some time before 1602. It was finished in 1603, an extra chapter being added to the manuscript in March 1604 (102); the same year it was passed by the Inquisitionary authorities and was published at Lisbon in 1608 or 1609 under the title: '*Primera Parte de los Commentarios Reales qve tratan del origen de los Yncas, reyes qve fveron del Perv, de sv idolatria, leyes, y gouierno en paz y en guerra: de sus vidas y conquistas, y de todo lo que fue aquel Imperio y su Republica, antes que los Españoles passaran a el: Escritos por el*

*Ynca, Garcilasso de la Vega, natural del Cozco, y Capitan de su Magestad.*' The introductory matter consists of a dedication to the Duchess of Braganza, a preface to the reader, and a notice about the Quichuan language; the *Segunda Parte* was not published until 1617, at Cordova. A second edition of the whole work appeared in Madrid in 1723, headed as follows: *Primera parte de los comentarios reales que tratan de el origen de los Incas, reyes que fueron del Perú. Historia General del Perú.* This was followed by a third edition of thirteen volumes published at Madrid in 1800–1801; the editor of this later edition deviates from Garcilasso's arrangement of the work, arbitrarily dividing it up into books and chapters according to a plan of his own. There is also a Lima edition of 1918, compiled by H. H. Urteaga, with an introduction by Dr. Don José de la Riva Agüero; this reprint has proved unobtainable in Europe.

Garcilasso himself confides to us the

motives which induced him to write his history. He was impelled to undertake his task, so he alleges, by a real wish to help his unfortunate countrymen and to rescue from oblivion the ancient monuments and customs of Peru (103). The contrast between the Inca's past glories and their actual estate, thus brought before men's minds, might conceivably help to improve their pitiable lot. With this end in view, and, as he avers, no hope of reward, Garcilasso set out to collect his materials. The undertaking proved, so he tells us, laborious in the extreme (104). Besides obtaining information from his relations and former schoolfellows (105), Garcilasso thought it his duty to read up all the existing accounts of Peru and to examine old chronicles (106). This was especially the case with the *Segunda Parte*. In the *Primera Parte*, which deals almost exclusively with the Incas, Garcilasso drew largely on his own memory, on the material supplied to him by Diego de Alcobaza, and on a manuscript account

by the Padre Blas Valera. If we read through the *Commentarios Reales*, we find that Garcilasso must have consulted no fewer than nine historians, for he quotes from each of the following: the Padre Josef de Acosta, the Frenchman Jean Bodin, Juan Botero Benes, Pedro Cieza de León, Diego Fernández de Palencia, Francisco Lopez de Gómara, the Florentine Francesco Guicciardini, Fray Gerónimo Román, and Agustín de Zárate. The most trustworthy of these was Cieza de León, and from him Garcilasso quotes most extensively. Of the two historians, Gómara and Zárate, Garcilasso gives preference to the latter, on account of his having been to Peru (107), but his favourite authority is the missionary Blas Valera, the fragments of whose Latin manuscript, rescued from the sack of Cadiz in 1596, were given to our author by Father Maldonado de Saavedra of the Company of Jesus (108). Garcilasso tells us frankly that Blas Valera's method is better and more concise than his own, and

the style pleasant (109). It is notorious that in almost every case our author's quotations are chosen to give weight to some previous statement made by him. Garcilasso seems fearful of advancing anything unless it be supported by the evidence of a Spaniard (110). Instances of his rejecting authorities are, on the whole, rare, and refer, with apparently but one exception (111), chiefly to errors in dates or to mistakes in Quichuan terms. This fact may be due either to his lack of the critical faculty or to his sense of isolation previously touched upon. The writer's good faith is evident enough. It was not his fault that nature had made him all too credulous.

Garcilasso's knowledge of his native tongue had not entirely forsaken him; he tells us that he could understand Quichua, but from want of practice had difficulty in expressing himself in it (112). His memory, although he complains of it at intervals, was good, and he gives us therefore, in the *Primera Parte*, an accurate

account of all that he had gathered as a small child from his mother's conversations with her relations, and of what he had been told in his youth concerning the Incas' rites and ceremonies. Garcilasso was inspired, moreover, with a genuine love for his theme, and had all the advantage of ocular evidence. With these gifts at his command he has produced in the *Primera Parte* an attractive work. Its defects are not so much due to wilful distortion of facts as to an inclination to indulge in constant digressions. The opening chapters perhaps give an exaggerated idea of Garcilasso's discursiveness: discussions on the number of worlds and their shape, or on the possible existence of the antipodes, recall vaguely to modern readers Petit-Jean's famous phrase in *Les Plaideurs*, 'Quand je vois le soleil et quand je vois la lune'; and with l'Intimé they may feel inclined to exclaim: 'Quand aura-t-il tout vu?'. But these preliminary chapters are written probably in conformity with a certain standard, for Garcilasso,

after giving us the derivation of the word Peru, and an account of the gods adored by the Indian tribes before their prehistoric subjugation, soon plunges into his main theme. By nature garrulous, he delights to interpolate anecdotes. He warns his readers that, as the Incas strove in every respect to imitate the founder of their dynasty, Manco Capac, the child of the Sun, of whose origin mythical tales are told (as they are told in our own time of the Mikado of Japan), there will be much similarity in the record of their reigns and customs, and that he will therefore give in detail an account of the first king. This he proceeds to do. The descriptions of the successive Inca rulers, of the improvements they made for their subjects, and of their conquests all have, consequently, a certain sameness, but Garcilasso's digressions about the produce of the land, its beasts and birds, relieve his narration from the reproach of tedium. It is with interest that we follow his chapters on the skill and ingenuity shown by the Indians

in the art of building; with the rudest implements they raised monuments which outdid the wonders of the Colossus of Rhodes and of the Pyramids (113). A notable instance is the great palace outside Cuzco, a remnant of whose walls still stands. It is when he treats of these antiquities and of their present state that Garcilasso has the moral courage to speak plainly of the destruction caused by the Spaniards. They often wrought mischief designedly, although in some cases he allows that they may have offended through ignorance. No advancing army, as we all know, will cease its pillage out of consideration for works of art. The Spanish *Conquistadores* were a handful of men amongst countless Indian hosts whom they expected—and believed—to be barbarians. Their blood was aflame with the lust of gold and gain, and in order to find the treasure which they sought, they recklessly pulled down ancient buildings (114). The great herds of vicuñas, which the Incas only hunted in rotation, were so

ruthlessly slain by the new rulers of the country that in some parts the race threatened to become extinct (115). Of these and other acts of perverse destruction Garcilasso speaks with contemptuous regret.

On the religion of the Incas and the rites connected with it, he dwells at some length. He describes the houses of the Virgins dedicated to the Sun, and the gardens belonging to them, where every plant and flower was wrought in gold, the great halls where the Inca kings sat on chairs of massive gold and ate off gold and silver vessels. With a touch of realism he contrives to give us a fantastic picture of a unique government in a land of fabulous riches. When he reaches the reign of Atahualpa, the tyrant, his narrative becomes less imaginative; we instinctively feel that the writer is relating events from which he is separated by no great distance of time. And at this point, with the story of the usurper's cruelties, the *Primera Parte* closes.

The *Segunda Parte*, published posthumously in 1617, begins with Garcilasso's formal application for the printing of the book, dated 1612; a satisfactory and even eulogistic *aprobación* of it was given in January 1613 by Francisco de Castro of the Company of Jesus (who can hardly have had a very critical mind, for he praises its conciseness and lack of digressions); the licence of the Bishop of Cordova, Fray Diego de Mardones, signed on March 6, 1613; another *aprobación,* written on January 6, 1614, by the celebrated Pedro de Valencia, and finally the King's licence, which is dated January 21, 1614. After these preliminaries we have a dedication to the Virgin, in which Garcilasso refers to his descent from the original Garcilasso, who is alleged to have fought a duel with a mighty Moor on the plain of Granada, and was given the surname 'de la Vega' in commemoration of the event. Then follows a letter to the Incas and the *mestizos* in which Garcilasso sets forth his reasons for writing the *Commentarios Reales*.

He gives three: first, for the glorification of Peru; second, for the honour of the *Conquistadores*; third, as a resource against idleness. Next come two dedications to the King Philip II, dated Montilla, January 19, 1586, and a note on Garcilasso's translation from León Hebreo by the author. The composition of the *Segunda Parte* seems to have extended over some ten years. The disproportion between this period and that occupied in writing the *Primera Parte* may be accounted for by two considerations. In the first place, Garcilasso had to read up a large amount of material, and in the second place there were certain points in his subject-matter which needed cautious handling. Like Agag, Garcilasso was compelled to walk delicately. The greatest difficulty arose in connexion with his father. Garcilasso's attitude is one of strict loyalty to the Crown, and he seeks to ascribe the same loyalty to his sire. Thus, as he portrays it, the dastardly plot to steal Pizarro's ships at Arequipa becomes a justifiable

act of war. The episode at Huarina is less easy to explain away ; Zárate, Gómara, and Diego Fernández, all three agree in their assertion that Gonzalo Pizarro's life was saved by the elder Garcilasso. After an attempt to deny the action ascribed to his father, Garcilasso, recognizing the futility of bringing forward contradictory arguments in the face of such crushing testimony, makes a complete *volte-face* (116), and emphasizes the gallantry of the exploit. Throughout the eight books which form the *Segunda Parte*, we cannot fail to see that, much as he glories in his Indian descent, Garcilasso is not a little proud of his close relationship to one of the *Conquistadores*. He compares the union of Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Hernando de Luque (117) with the Triumvirate, not to the advantage of the latter, and taxes Spain with not rewarding her great men (118). This complaint, which has often been renewed, might be brought against almost any nation. Considering his sympathies with

the Incas, it becomes a matter of curiosity to see how Garcilasso will treat the captivity of Atahualpa and the massacre of his followers by the very men whom he praises so highly. His account is impartial and moderate: the treachery, as is implied, was due largely to the inadequacy of the Spanish interpreter, a low-class Indian who seems to have known imperfectly both Spanish and Quichua (119). Therefore to the two parties' mutual ignorance of each other's language (120) the whole blame of this episode is due. Garcilasso's arguments in proof of Spain's poverty before the Conquest of Peru, and of the immense increase in her riches afterwards, although not always logically irrefutable, show, nevertheless, the trend of his economic opinions (121). He had a horror of being concerned in anything controversial; where polemics seem imminent, he quotes an authority and refrains from expressing any personal opinion. Judged by modern scientific standards, Garcilasso would fall short in the matter

of methodology. He cannot sift and weigh evidence, and when the truth would offend, he thinks it admissible and even advisable to mask it (122). His avowed desire to present a truthful history carries conviction (123), but he cannot see that the omission of facts or of a detail which would reveal character is as grave a fault against historical accuracy as deliberate misrepresentation. His uncritical mind inclines him to be too charitable and prevents his being a good judge of men. Garcilasso was not, however, concerned with character-drawing. His aim was to give us the story of Peru in the form of a pleasant and agreeable narrative. His style, colloquial, diffuse, and easy, but never majestic, is in keeping with his object.

The *Commentarios Reales* have been translated into English, French, German, and Italian; they have also been utilized by Robertson, Prescott, Marmontel, and Sheridan. Sir Clements Markham, during his travels through Peru in 1852, came

across a copy of Garcilasso in a small native settlement, and conversation with the Indian owner revealed that he had a good knowledge of the contents (124). The same writer tells us that 'no Peruvian of any education is without his Garcilasso' (125). This fact would seem to prove a measure of popularity, and Garcilasso's summary estimate of his work, whilst enlisting our sympathies, disarms criticism: 'I have done what I was able without having been able to do all that I desired' (126).

V

*La Florida del Ynca* and the *Commentarios Reales* do not reveal any very strong personality. Garcilasso does not seem to have cherished deep individual affections, save perhaps for his father, of whose winning cordiality he once speaks (127). He is undoubtedly proud of his descent from his Inca mother, but he never outwardly betrays, even by a chance remark, any emotional regard for her. That he was generous and hospitable we gather from his kindness to Juan Arias Maldonado, on the latter's departure from Spain to Peru. Garcilasso not only gave him a horse, but at great inconvenience furnished him with such necessaries as underlinen and so forth. Although it is true that he hoped for some return, he was willing to suffer the chance of loss (128). He shared the

*Conquistadores'* deep feeling for religion and entertained the rooted conviction that, if the Spaniards taught the mysteries of their faith in the lands they marched through, the dispossessed Indians would make the better bargain, for whereas wealth spiritual and eternal would be theirs, their conquerors would have only temporal riches. For his superstitious beliefs, the age in which he lived was largely responsible, likewise, in a measure, for his great credulity. From Garcilasso's frequent comparisons with, and allusions to, former historical events or personages, we gather that he had a great intellectual curiosity of a positive kind. In his boyhood he had a liking for books of chivalry, but his affection for these changed, so he tells us, almost to hatred through the influence of Pedro Mexia, that *Caballero Cesáreo*, who thought himself reserved for better things than the writing of *romances* (129). Like the Canon in *Don Quixote*, Garcilasso thought time spent in reading works of fiction and phantasy—saving, of

course, the reading of good poetry—was so much waste.

It was a Frenchwoman who glorified greediness into a virtue, saying: 'Sans un peu de gourmandise, on risquerait de perdre un des plus grands plaisirs de la vie'. Garcilasso was in no danger of incurring this risk. The episode of the asparagus stalks first reveals his love of good living. He tells us almost with rancorous annoyance that he was not offered even a morsel to taste, although he had prepared the materials for cooking and had waited on his father's guests (130). Again, on his way to Spain, Garcilasso passed through some vineyards (the cultivated grape was a novelty in Peru), and forty-two years later he still harbours a regret that their owner did not give him the bunch of grapes which would have been so acceptable on his journey (131). This suspicion of greediness on his part and his faculty for taking pleasure in small things would have made him an easy guest to entertain. Garcilasso would

doubtless have been a most pleasant companion, although too long intercourse with him might have proved wearisome. A kindly, garrulous veteran, he leaves us the impression of a man, commonplace enough, it may be, but at any rate thoroughly human.

# NOTES

(1) 'Que mi madre la Palla doña Isabel fue hija del Inga Hualpa Topac, vno de los hijos de Topac Ynca Yupanqui. . . .' *Dedicatoria*, dated Montilla, January 19, 1586.

(2) '. . . la mesma gente de Atahuallpa de lastima de ver perecer la sangre que ellos tenian por diuina, . . . dieron lugar a que se saliessen del cercado en que los tenian, y ellos mismos los echauan fuera, . . . Todos los que assi faltaron fueron niños y niñas, muchachos y muchachas, de diez y onze años a baxo, vna dellas fue mi madre, y vn hermano suyo llamado dõ Frãcisco Huallpa Tupac Inca Yupanqui, . . .' *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. IX, c. XXXVIII, f. 260 v.

(3) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. VIII, c. XII, f. 287 r. See also P. de Gayangos—E. de Vedia—G. Ticknor, *Historia de la literatura española*, Madrid, 1854, vol. III, p. 555.

(4) *Mestizo* is the name given to a child born of a white father and an Indian mother or of an Indian father and a white mother.

(5) 'Passò [Garcilaso de la Vega] à ellas [las provincias del Peru], con el adelantado don Pedro de Aluarado, año de mil y quiniẽtos

y treynta y vno.' *Dedicatoria*, dated Montilla, January 19, 1586. Sir Clements Markham, in the introduction to his translation, *First Part of the Royal Commentaries*, says, p. iv, that Garcilasso set out with Don Alonso de Alvarado. This would appear to be a slip.

(6) The term *segundos conquistadores* was given to the Spaniards who entered Peru with Diego de Almagro or Pedro de Alvarado, in contradistinction to the original discoverers (*primeros conquistadores*) under Francisco Pizarro. See *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. VII, c. IX, f. 175 r.

(7) A *repartimiento* was a grant of Indians. The owner of a *repartimiento* was called a *vecino* and was empowered to exact tribute and service from his Indians. *Commentarios reales* I, *Advertencias acerca de la lengva general de los Yndios del Peru.* For the position of the *Conquistador* Garcilasso de la Vega's *repartimientos* see *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. I, c. XXVI, f. 52 v.; Lib. III, c. XII, f. 67 v.; c. XIV, f. 70 v.; Lib. IV, c. XVI, f. 93 r.

(8) *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. VII, c. XI, f. 177 v.

(9) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. VI, c. I, f. 210 v.

(10) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. VI, c. XVII, f. 227 r.

(11) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. II, c. XXV, f. 60 r.; Lib. IV, c. XLII, f. 158 r.

(12) *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. III, c. I, f. 57 v.

(13) '. . . el Padre Diego de Alcobaça ya otras vezes por mi nõbrado, en vna carta que me escriuio año de mil y seiscientos y vno, . . .' *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. VII, c. XXV, f. 191 r.

(14) 'Acuerdome biẽ de todo esto, porque la fiesta de los bueyes me costó dos dozenas de açotes, los vnos me dio mi padre, porque no fuí al escuela, los otros me dio el maestro, porque falte della.' *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. IX, c. XVII, f. 244 r.

(15) '. . . el Licenciado Juan Cuellas . . . el qual leyó grammatica a los Mestizos hijos de hombres nobles, y ricos de aquella ciudad [Cozco]. Mouiose a hazerlo de caridad propria y por suplica de los mismos estudiantes, porque cinco preceptores que en vezes antes auian tenido, los auian desamparado a cinco o seis meses de estudio. . . . El canonizo Juan de Cuellar tampoco dexó sus discipulos perficionados en latinidad, porque no pudo lleuar el trabajo que passaua, en leer quatro

lecciones cada día, y acudir a las horas de su coro : y assi quedaron imperfectos en la lengua latina.' *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. II, c. XXVIII, f. 55 v–f. 56 r.

(16) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. IV, c. X, f. 121 r.

(17) After the death of Pedro del Barco, Garcilasso de la Vega the *Conquistador* adopted his two little orphan boys and took entire charge of them for five years. *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. VIII, c. XII, f. 291 r.

(18) *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. VI, c. XXII, f. 149 r.

(19) '. . . acuerdome que otro dia vi vn Pancuncu en el arroyo que corre por medio de la plaça, estaua junto a las casas de mi condiscipulo en gramatica Juan de Cellorico, acuerdome que huyan del los muchachos Yndios q̄ passauan por la calle yo no huy, porque no sabia la causa, que si me la dixeran tambien huyera, que era niño de seys a siete años. *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. VII, c. VII, f. 171 v.

(20) *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. VI, cc. VIII–IX, ff. 136 r.–137 v.

(21) *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. III, c. XVI, ff. 72 r.–73 r. ; *La Florida del Ynca*, Lib. VI, c. II, f. 293 r. [wrongly numbered].

(22) *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. VIII, c. IX, f. 208 r.

(23) *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. IX, c. XXXVII, f. 260 v.

(24) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. VII, c. XVIII, f. 261 r.

(25) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. IV, c. XX, f. 133 r.; Lib. V, c. XXII, f. 184 r.

(26) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. V, c. XXIII, f. 186 r.

(27) '. . . que yo sabia herrar y sangrar los cauallos de casa de mi padre . . .'. *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. V, c. XXII f. 184 v.

(28) *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. II, c. XXV, f. 50 v.

(29) Blasco Nuñez Vela had been sent out from Spain in 1543 as Viceroy of Peru to enforce the observance of the ordinances framed by the Council of the Indies. That Council, summoned at Valladolid by Charles V in 1541, acting on the representations of Bartolomé de las Casas, who reported that the Indian race, through the oppression of the Spaniards, would rapidly die out, ruled amongst other things that every Spaniard who had been concerned in the faction fights of the Almagros and the Pizarros should

lose his *repartimiento.* This sweeping law, which cut out practically all the *Conquistadores*, created the greatest consternation in Peru. Men who had been great landowners now saw themselves beggared at an age when life could not easily be begun again, and in their distress they turned to their natural leader, Gonzalo Pizarro. He was named Procurator-General of Peru and invited to voice the Spaniards' claim before the Viceroy who, in 1544, had landed at Tumbez. On the pretence that he must have an armed force behind him to ensure success, Gonzalo Pizarro organized a large army and prevailed on the people of Cuzco to name him Captain-General.

(30) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. IV, c. X, ff. 120 r.–v.; c. XVII, f. 149 v.

(31) 'Mi padre . . . se fue al cõvẽto de santo Domingo, donde le recibieron los religiosos, y le escondieron en vna bobeda y hueco de vn entierro, y assi estuuo escondido en aquella casa con mucho secreto mas de quatro meses: . . .' *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. IV, c. XX, f. 132 v.

(32) Pedro de Puelles was governor of Guanuco at the date of Blasco Nuñez Vela's arrival in Peru. Although his office was

confirmed by the Viceroy, the prospect opened by the new regulations so dismayed him that he joined Pizarro's party, arriving, so it chanced, at the time when the rebel captain's hopes were lowest on account of the desertion of many upon whom he had most counted. *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. IV, c. X, f. 121 r.

(33) '. . . Garcilasso de la Vega, cuyas casas saquearon los soldados, y vno dellos quiso pegarles fuego, que ya tenia el tizon en la mano. Otro que no era de tan malas entrañas le dixo, que os han hecho las casas ? si pudieramos auer a su dueño, nos vengaramos en el : pero las paredes que os deuen ? por esto las dexaron de quemar: pero no dexarõ en ellas cosa que valiesse vn marauedi, ni Yndio, ni Yndia de seruicio, que a todos les pusieron pena de muerte si entrauan en la casa. Quedarõ ocho personas en ella desamparados, mi madre fue la vna, y vna hermana mia, y vna criada, q̄ quiso mas el riesgo de que la matassen, que negarnos, y yo, y Juan de Alcobaça mi ayo, y su hijo Diego de Alcobaça, y vn hermano suyo, y vna Yndia de seruicio, que tampoco quiso negar a su señor.

A Juan de Alcobaça defendio de la muerte

su buena vida y exemplo, que era tenido por vn hombre quitado de toda passion, e interes mundano: a mi madre y a los demas que tambien nos quisieron matar, nos defendio el amistad de algunos que entraron, que aunque andauan con Gonçalo Piçarro eran amigos de mi padre. . . . Vn Cazique de los de mi padre que se dezia don Garcia Pauqui . . . vino vna noche a casa, y apercibio que la noche siguiente a tal hora estuuiessen en vela, porque les embiaria veynte y cinco hanegas de Mayz, siete, o ocho noches despues embio otras veynte y cinco, con que pudimos sustentar la vida que durò mas de ocho meses la hambre. . . . Juan de Escobar, que possaua entonces en las casas de Alonso de Mesa, que era calle en medio de las de mi padre, viendo nuestra hambre, y doliendose della, pidio a mi ayo, Juan de Alcobaça, que me embiasse cada dia a comer y acenar con el: la comida se aceptò, y la cena no, por no abrir aquellas oras la puerta de casa que a cada momento temiamos que nos auian de degollar; porque a cada passo nos amenazauan. Y Hernando Bachicao capitan de la artilleria, que aun no auia salido con ella, nos cañoneo la casa dende la suya . . . y acabara de echarla por el suelo, sino que

tambien huuo padrinos que nos valieron.' *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. IV, c. X, f. 121 r.-v.

(34) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. V, c. X, f. 171 r.

(35) The Inca gives us to understand that Pizarro treated Garcilasso de la Vega the *Conquistador* as a prisoner, '. . . la importunidad desus amigos acabò con Gonçalo Piçarro, que lo [Garcilasso de la Vega] perdonasse del todo, y tuuiesse por bien de verle, y assi se lo lleuaron delante, y lo perdonò, y lo truxo cõsigo debaxo de nombre de prisionero, que nunca mas Gonçalo Piçarro le dexò salir de su casa, ni comer fuera de su mesa, y en el campo dormia dentro en su toldo, y assi lo truxo hasta el dia de la batalla de Sacsahuana . . . yo digo lo que passo, como persona a quien le cupo mucha parte de aquellos trabajos, y necesidades de mi padre. q̄ en tres años no gozò de sus Yndios, que estuuo desposeydo dellos, en los quales el y los suyos, que como atras dixe eramos ocho, viuimos de limosna.' *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. IV, c. XX, f. 133 r.

(36) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. V, c. X, f. 171 r.

(37) ' Francisco Lopez de Gomara . . . dize.

Piçarro corriera peligro si Garcilasso no le diera vn cauallo &c. . . . Diego Fernandez . . . hablando de la misma batalla [Huarina] dize . . . Fue en este encuentro derribado Gonçalo Piçarro, y Garcilasso (que auia quedado en la silla) se apeo, y le dio su cauallo, y le ayudò a subir. . . . Todo esto dizen aquellos autores de mi padre. Yo he escrito de aquella batalla lo que realmente passò: que tomar Gonçalo Piçarro el cauallo de mi padre, no fue en el trance de la batalla, si no despues della: pero no me espanto que los historiadores tuuiessen otra relacion: porque yo me acuerdo que algunos mestizos condiscipulos mios de la escuela, me dezian, que auian oydo dezir de mi padre lo que Diego Fernandez dize. . . . Boluiendo pues a lo que los Autores escriuen de mi padre digo, que no es razon que yo contradiga a tres testigos tan graues como ellos son, que ni me creeran, ni es justo que nadie lo haga, siendo yo parte. Yo me satisfago con auer dicho verdad, tomen lo que quisieren, que sino me creyeren, yo passo por ello, dando por verdadero lo que dixeron de mi padre. . . .' *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. V, c. XXIII, ff. 185 v.–186 r. The Inca includes amongst the three authors of whom he speaks Zárate,

but the quotation he gives makes no mention of Garcilasso's father.

(38) 'Yo entré en la ciudad con ellos, que el dia antes auia salido a recebir a mi padre hasta Quespicancha tres leguas del Cozco. Parte del camino fuy a pie y parte me lleuaron dos Yndios a cuestas remudãdose a vezes. Para la buelta me dieron vn cauallo, y quien lo lleuasse de diestro, y vi todo lo q̃ he dicho, y pudiera assi mismo dezir en quales casas se aposentarõ los capitanes cada vno de por si, q̃ los conoci todos, y me acuerdo de las casas con auer casi sesenta años que passò lo que vamos escriuiendo: porque la memoria guarda mejor lo q̃ vio en su niñez; que lo que passa en su edad mayor.' *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. V, c. XXVII, f. 189 v.

(39) '. . . los que el [Carbajal] llamaua passadores y texedores, que andauan passandosse del vn vando al otro, como lançaderas en vn telar: por lo qual les llamaua texedores, . . .' *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. IV, c. XXVIII, f. 142 v. '. . . a los quales llamauan los de la mira porque en las guerras passadas auian estado a la mira, que ni auian sido traydores, ni leales. . . .' *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. VI, c. I, f. 210 v.

(40) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. V, c. XXXV, ff. 198 v.–200 r.

(41) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. V, c. XLII, f. 208 r.

(42) Garcilasso uses the word *madrastra.* To understand his father's marriage whilst Chimpa Ocllo was still alive, we must infer either that the Conquistador never went through the ceremony of marriage with her or that customs which may be called patriarchal were prevalent. Sir Clements Markham (see Introduction to his translation of *The First Part of the Royal Commentaries,* p. vii) inclines to believe that Chimpa Ocllo was dead. This view is contradicted by the following passage: 'Destas crueldades nacio el cuento que ofresci dezir de Don Francisco hijo de Atahuallpa, y fue, que murio pocos meses antes que yo me viniesse a España: el dia siguiente a su muerte bien de mañana antes de su entierro vinieron los pocos parientes Incas que auia a visitar a mi madre, y entro ellos vino el Inca viejo de quien otras vezes hemos hecho menciõ. El qual en lugar de dar el pesame, porque el difunto era sobrino de mi madre, hijo de primo hermano, . . .' *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. IX, c. XXXIX, f. 262 v.

(43) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. VII, c. II, ff. 242 r.–243 v.

(44) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. VII, c. III, f. 244 r.

(45) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. VII, c. XXX, f. 273 r.

(46) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. VIII, c. VI, f. 280 r.

(47) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. VIII, c. V, f. 279 r.

(48) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. VIII, c. IV, f. 278 r.

(49) *Dedicatoria* [dated from Montilla, January 19, 1586]. *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. VIII, c. XII, f. 286 r.

(50) *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. II, c. III, f. 27 v. *et passim*.

(51) *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. I, c. VII, f. 6 v.

(52) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. VI, c. XIII, f. 223 v.

(53) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. I, c. VI, f. 5 r.

(54) The undated *Dedicatoria* to the Duke of Braganza in *La Florida del Ynca*.

(55) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. V, c. XXIII, f. 186 r.

(56) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. IV, c. XXIII, f. 136 r.

(57) *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. VII, c. X, f. 176 v.

(58) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. IV, c. III, f. 112 v.

(59) '. . . pidiendo yo mercedes a su Magestad por los seruicios de mi padre, y por la restitucion patrimonial de mi madre, que por auer muerto en breue tiempo la segunda vida de mi padre, quedamos los demas hermanos desamparados, y viendose en el consejo real de las Yndias las prouanças que de lo vno, y de lo otro presenté, hallandose conuencidos aquellos señores cõ mis prouanças, el Licenciado Lope Garcia de Castro (que despues fue por presidente al Peru) estando en su tribunal, me dixo, que merced quereys que os haga su Magestad, auiendo hecho vuestro padre con Gonçalo Piçarro lo que hizo en la batalla de Huarina, y dadole aquella tan gran victoria? Y aunque yo repliqué, que auia sido testimonio falso, que le auian leuantado, me dixo: tienen lo escrito los historiadores y quereyslo negar? Con esto me despidierõ de aquellas pretensiones. y cerraron las puertas a otras que despues aca pudiera auer tenido por mis particulares seruicios. . . .' *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. V, c. XXIII, f. 186 r.

(60) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. VIII, c. XV, f. 294 v.

(61) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. V. c. XXIII, f. 186 r.

(62) *Proemio al letor, La Florida del Ynca.*

(63) 'Tambien lo causò escapar yo de la guerra tan desbalijado y adeudado, que no me fue possible boluer a la Corte, sino acogerme a los rincones de la soledad. . . .' *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. V, c. XXIII, f. 186 r.

(64) *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. VIII, c. XXIII, f. 223 r.

(65) *Dedicatoria* (dated from Montilla, January 19, 1586).

(66) *Proemio al letor, La Florida del Ynca. Dedicatoria* of Garcilasso's translation of León Hebreo to Maximilian of Austria, Montilla, March 12, 1587.

(67) 'Todo este cuento escreui en nuestra historia de la Florida, sacandola de su lugar, por obedecer a los venerables padres maestros de la sancta Compañia de Jesus Miguel Vazquez de Padilla natural de Seuilla, y Geronimo de Prado natural de Vbeda, que me lo mandaron assi, y de alli lo quité, aunque tarde, por ciertas causas tyranicas.

. . .' *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. II, c. VII, f. 33 v.

(68) *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. V, c. VI, f. 104 v. *et passim.*

(69) *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. I, c. VII, f. 7 r.

(70) *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. I, c. VII, f. 7 r. *et passim.*

(71) *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. VIII, c. V, f. 202 r.; c. XXIII, f. 222 r.

(72) *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. IX, c. XXIX, f. 253 r.–v.

(73) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. VII, c. XXII, f. 265 r.–v.

(74) The *quinua* is a useful plant, for it serves three purposes. Its leaves can be eaten like spinach, its seeds boiled like rice, and its stems used as fuel. *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. VIII, c. IX, f. 207 v.

(75) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. VIII, c. XX, f. 299 v.

(76) On account of the rarity of the Inca's translation, it may be convenient to quote Maximilian's letter:

'Al Capitan Garcilasso Inga de la Vega. Ante Ayer me embio don Juan de Herrera, hijo del Alcayde de Priego la traduccion de Leon Hebreo hecha por V.m. con vna carta suya. Vino todo tan de noche que pare-

ciendome corto el tiempo para sinificar la merced que con ello auia recibido, con su licencia diferi el hazerlo para aora: q̄ auiendo leydo otra del libro propio me parece lo sera tambien el de toda mi vida, para corresponder a tanta merced. Beso á V.m. las manos por ella, y por el fauor que me haze con palabras y con obras: poniendo en tanto punto mi corto juyzio, que quiere le haga de obras salidas de sus manos. Lo que el y yo valieremos sera para reconocimiento della en todo lo que V.m. mandarme quisiere. Para lo qual desde aora me ofrezco por seruidor, suplicando me mande, y trate como el Rey nuestro señor ordena. Con licencia de V.m. me quedo con el libro hasta fin de Setiembre por gozar del de espacio: tendrelo en los ojos, y al fin deste tiempo lo boluere. Nuestro señor guarde á V.m. de Alcala y de Junio diez y nueue, 1587.

'Maximiliano de Auxtria.'

(77) Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña*, Siglo XVI, p. 173.

(78) Menéndez y Pelayo appreciated 'la belleza y gallardía de la prosa, que tanto contrasta con el desaliño del texto italiano. . . .' M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de la Poesía hispano-americana*, t. II, p. 145.

(79) '. . . no doy cuenta en particular de los regalos y fauores que me hizieron que vno dellos fue librarme de la muerte.' Dedication to the Duke of Braganza of *La Florida del Ynca.*

(80) *Ibid.*

(81) *La Florida del Ynca*, Lib. I, c. I, f. 1 r.; Lib. VI, c. IX, ff. 322 r.–322 v.

(82) '. . . pues no ẽ todas partes ay oro ni plata, y en todas viuen las gentes.' *La Florida del Ynca*, Lib. VI, c. XXI, f. 346 r.

(83) *La Florida del Ynca*, Lib. VI, c. XVII, ff. 336 r.–v.

(84) *La Florida del Ynca*, Lib. VI, c. XXI, f. 346 r.–v.

(85) *La Florida del Ynca*, II Parte del Libro II, c. XVI, f. 120 r., v.

(86) 'De mi se dezir que si cõforme el animo, y desseo vuiera dado el Señor la possibilidad, holgara gastarla jũtamente con la vida cõ esta heroica empresa: Mas ella se deue de guardar para algun bien afortunado. . . .' *La Florida del Ynca*, Lib. VI, c. IX, ff. 322 v.–323 r.

(87) *La Florida del Ynca*, *Proemio al letor.*

(88) *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, translated by Sir Clements R.

Markham, vol. II, book VII, c. XIV, p. 266 *n.*

(89) *La Florida del Ynca, Proemio al letor.*

(90) *La Florida del Ynca*, Lib. I, c. VII, f. 11 v.

(91) *La Florida del Ynca*, I Parte del Lib. II, c. XIII, f. 53 v.—c. XV, f. 57 v.

(92) *La Florida del Ynca*, Lib. V, c. XIV, f. 302 r.; Lib. VI, c. V, f. 314 v.; Lib. VI, c. X, f. 323 v.; Lib. VI, c. XIV, f. 332 r.

(93) '. . . yo escriuo de relacion agena de quien lo vio y manejò personalmēte. El qual quiso ser tan fiel en su relaciō, q̄ capítulo por capítulo como le yuã escriuiēdo los yua corrigiēdo, quitãdo, o añadiēdo lo q̄ faltaua o sobraua de lo q̄ el auia dicho, q̄ ni vna palabra agena por otra de las suyas nũca las cõsintio. . . .' *La Florida del Ynca*, I Parte del Lib. II, c. XXVII, f. 82 v.

(94) 'Apeaos, y dormid lo que quisieredes, pues atrueque de no resistir vna hora mas el sueño quereys que nos maten los Indios.' *La Florida del Ynca*, I Parte del Lib. II, c. XIV, f. 55 v.

(95) '. . . El quarto que era Gõzalo Syluestre, echò sus diez y ocho granos de maiz en vn pañuelo, y los metio en el seno. Poco

despues se topò con vn soldado Castellano que se dezia Francisco de Troche . . . el qual le dixo, lleuays algo que comer? Gonçalo Syluestre le respōdio por donayre. Si, que vnos maçapanes mui buenos rezien hechos me truxeron aora de Seuilla. Francisco de Troche en lugar de enfadarse, rio el disparate. A este punto llegò otro soldado . . . el qual endereçando su pregunta a los que hablauan en los maçapanes les dixo: Vosotros teneys algo que comer: (que no era otro el lenguage de aquellos dias) Gonçalo Syluestre respondio: Vna rosca de Vtrera tengo mui buena, tierna y rezien sacada de el horno, si quereys della partirè con vos largamente.' *La Florida del Ynca*, Lib. III, c. VIII, f. 155 v.–156 r.

(96) '. . . sacaron a tierra la muger del Gouernador y sus dueñas y dōzellas, y a bueltas dellas salieron algunos caualleros moços, no esperimētados en semejantes peligros, los quales sedauan tanta priessa a entrar en el batel, que perdido el respeto que a las damas se les deue, no se comedian ni dauan lugar a q̄ ellas entrassen primero, pareciendoles que no era tiēpo de comedimientos.' *La Florida del Ynca*, Lib. I, c. VIII, f. 15 r.

(97) '. . . que gēte tan barbara è inhumana no quiere oyr sermones.' *La Florida del Ynca*, Lib. I, c. IV, f. 6 r.

(98) Biedma was factor for the King of Spain. His official account is brief.

(99) *Relaçam verdadeira dos trabalhos do gouernador Don Hernando de Soto.* Por um fidalgo Delvas (Evora, 1557).

(100) This fragment was incorporated in Oviedo's *Historia Natural y General de las Indias, Islas e Tierra Firme del mar oceano* (1535–1557).

(101) The not over-scrupulous Antonio de Herrera made use of Garcilasso's *La Florida del Ynca* in his *Historia de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas i Tierra firme del mar oceano* (1601), transcribing it almost entirely

(102) *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. IX, c. XL, f. 263 r., f. 264 r.

(103) *Prologo a los Yndios Mestizos y criollos. . . . Comentarios reales* II, Second Dedication of the *Dialoghi di Amore et passim.*

(104) '. . . me dispuse al trabajo tan eccesiuo como hasta aqui me ha sido. . . .' *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. VII, c. VIII, f. 172 v., *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. VIII, c. XX, f. 299 v.

(105) *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. I, c. XIX, f. 18 r.

(106) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. I, c. III, f. 2 v.

(107) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. II, c. XXIX, f. 64 v.; *Proemio al Lector*, *Commentarios reales* I.

(108) *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. I, c. VI, f. 5 v.

(109) 'Su paternidad [Blas Valera] lo escriuia por mejor orden, mas breue, y con mucha gala, y hermosura....' *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. V, c. X, f. 108 v.

(110) *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. V, c. VI, f. 104 v. *et passim.*

(111) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. V, c. XXXIX, ff. 203 v.–204 v.

(112) *La Florida del Ynca*, I Parte del Lib. II, c. VI, f. 39 v. In *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. II, c. XXVII, f. 52 v. and f. 53 v., Garcilasso quotes from memory two Quichuan songs, and gives his own Spanish translation. See also Professor E. C. Hills, *The Romanic Review*, vol. V, pp. 153–155.

(113) *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. VII, c. XXVII, f. 192 v.–c. XXVIII, f. 194 v.

(114) *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. V, c. XXII, f. 121 v.; Lib. VI, c. XXXIII, f. 161 v.

(115) *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. V, c. IX, f. 107 r.; Lib. VI, c. VI, f. 134 v.

(116) 'Boluiendo pues a lo que los Autores [Zárate, Gómara, and Diego Fernandez] escriuen de mi padre digo, que no es razon que yo contradiga a tres testigos tan graues como ellos son, que ni me creeran, ni es justo que nadie lo haga, siendo yo parte. Yo me satisfago con auer dicho verdad, tomen lo que quisieren, que sino me creyeren, yo passo por ello, dando por verdadero lo que dixeron de mi padre: para honrrarme y preciarme dello, con dezir que soy hijo de vn hombre tan esforçado, y animoso y de tanto valor, que en vn rompimimiento de batalla tan rigurosa y cruel como aquella fue, y como los mismos historiadores la cuentan, fuesse mi padre de tanto animo esfuerço y valentia, que se apeasse de su cauallo, y lo diesse a su amigo, y le ayudasse a subir en el, y que juntamente le diesse la vitoria de vna batalla tan importante como aquella, que pocas hazañas ha auido en el mundo semejantes.' *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. V, c. XXIII, f. 186 r.–v.

(117) Hernando de Luque was a school-master at Panama. It was arranged that he should remain in that city to administer

the estates of Pizarro and Almagro, that Pizarro should head the discovery party, and that Almagro should go backwards and forwards with reinforcements of men and supplies of food.

(118) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. I, c. II, f. 1 v.–f. 2 r.

(119) '. . . era [Phelipe Yndio] natural de la Isla Puna y de gente muy pleueya, moço que aun apenas tenia veinte y dos años, tan mal enseñado en la lengua general de los Yncas, como en la particular de los Españoles . . . su interpretación . . . la hizo mala y de contrario sentido ; no porque lo quisiesse hazer maliciosamente sino porque no entendia lo que interpretaua y que lo dezia como vn papagayo. . . .' *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. I, c. XXIII, ff. 17 v.–18 r.

(120) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. I, c. XXXVI, f. 28 r.

(121) *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. I, c. III, f. 2 r.–c. VII, f. 6 v.

(122) 'Assi que de vn principe tal que puede ygualarse con todos los de la fama. no se permite dezir cosas semejantes aunque fueran verdades.' *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. III, c. IX, f. 92 r. ; c. XIX, f. 104 v.

(123) 'Que mi intencion nunca es otra sino

contar llanamente lo que passò, sin lisonja, ni odio que no tengo para que tener lo vno, ni lo otro.' *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. IV, c. XLI, f. 157 v. '. . . la obligacion del que escriue los sucessos de sus tiempos . . . me obliga y aun fuerça . . . á que sin passion ni aficion diga la verdad de lo que passò. . . .' Lib. V, c. XXXIX, f. 203 v. *et passim.*

(124) Sir C. R. Markham, *Cuzco: A Journey to the Ancient Capital of Peru; with an account of the history, language, literature and antiquities of the Incas and Lima, a visit to the Capital and Provinces of Modern Peru; with a sketch of the vice-regal government, history of the republic, and a review of the literature and society of Peru* (London, 1856), p. 23.

(125) *Ibid.*

(126) '. . . de mi parte he hecho lo que he podido, no auiendo podido lo que he deseado.' *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. I, c. XIX, f. 19 r.

(127) '. . . su mucha afabilidad.' *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. II, c. XXXII, f. 69 v. Garcilasso seems to have obtained permission for his father's remains to be brought over to Spain, where they were interred in the Church

of San Isidro at Seville. *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. VIII, c. XII, f. 286 r.

(128) '. . . Yo me despoje de toda la ropa blanca que tenia, y de vnos tafetanes que auia hecho a la soldadesca, que eran como vanderas de infanteria de muchos colores: Y vn año antes le auia embiado a la Corte vn cauallo muy bueno, q̄ me pidio, que todo ello llegaria à valer quiniētos ducados. Y a cerca dellos me dixo hermano fialdos de mi, que en llegando á nuestra tierra, os embiaré dos mil pesos por el cauallo, y por este regalo que me aueis hecho. Yo creo que el lo hiziera assi, pero mi buena fortuna lo estoruó que llegando á Payta que es termino del Peru, de puro contento y regozijo, de verse en su tierra, espiró dentro de tres dias.' *Comentarios reales* II, Lib. VIII, c. XVII, f. 296 v.

(129) '. . . por q̄ toda mi vida (sacada la buena poesia) fuy enemigo de ficciones, como son libros de cauallerias, y otras semejãtes, las gracias desto deuo dar al illustre cauallero Pedro Mexia de Seuilla, porq̄ cõ vna reprehension, que en la heroyca obra de los Cesares haze, a los que se ocupan en leer y componer los tales libros, me quitò el amor que como muchacho les podia tener, y me

hizo aborrecerlos para siempre.' *La Florida del Ynca*, I Parte del Lib. II, c. XXVII, f. 82 v.

(130) '... Desta manera se comieron los esparragos con mas regozijo y fiesta, que si fuera el aue Feníx, y aunque yo seruí a la mesa, y hize traer todos los aderentes, no me cupo cosa alguna.' *Commentarios reales* I. Lib. IX, c. XXX, f. 254 v.

(131) '. . . El qual [Alfonso Vaez] me passeò por toda la eredad que estaua cargada de muy hermosas vuas, sin darme vn gajo dellas : que fuera grã regalo para vn huesped caminante, y tan amigo como yo lo era suyo, y dellas : mas no lo hizo . . .' *Commentarios reales* I, Lib. IX, c. XXVI, f. 250 r.

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